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Security Council
Forty-ninth Year

Provisional

3482nd Meeting
Friday, 16 December 1994, 3 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Bakuramutsa	(Rwanda)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cárdenas
	Brazil	Mr. Sardenberg
	China	Mr. Li Zhaoxing
	Czech Republic	Mr. Kovanda
	Djibouti	Mr. Dorani
	France	Mr. Mérimée
	New Zealand	Mr. Keating
	Nigeria	Mr. Gambari
	Oman	Mr. Al-Khussaiby
	Pakistan	Mr. Marker
	Russian Federation	Mr. Lavrov
	Spain	Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David Hannay
	United States of America	Mr. Inderfurth

Agenda

The situation in Tajikistan and along the Tajik-Afghan border

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Tajikistan (S/1994/1363)

94-87488 (E)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.30 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Tajikistan and along the Tajik-Afghan border

Report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Tajikistan (S/1994/1363)

The President (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform the Security Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Tajikistan in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kayumov (Tajikistan) took a place at the Council table.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Tajikistan, document S/1994/1363.

Members of the Council also have before them document S/1994/1415, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

The first speaker is the representative of Tajikistan, on whom I now call.

Mr. Kayumov (Tajikistan) (*interpretation from Russian*): Allow me first of all to congratulate you, Sir, on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of December and to wish you success in carrying out this difficult and responsible task.

I should also like to express sincere gratitude to the Permanent Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, Ambassador Madeleine Albright, for her intensive and far-ranging work as President of the Security Council in the month of November.

I should like to seize the opportunity of this first statement in the Security Council to express the deepest respect and sincere gratitude of the people and Government of Tajikistan to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, His Excellency Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his unswerving dedication to the cause of the maintenance of peace and security and for his energetic efforts to promote a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Tajikistan.

Our delegation has carefully studied the Secretary-General's report of 30 November on the situation in Tajikistan and shares its fundamental conclusions and recommendations. My Government supports the Security Council draft resolution concerning the establishment of a United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) and expresses the hope that its size will be increased. My Government is relying on the fact that the appeals of the major organ of the United Nations with primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security will be heard by all of the parties to the conflict.

My Government is convinced that only political dialogue, in combination with the measures we are undertaking to democratize the country's political life — the adoption of a new Constitution, presidential elections and the forthcoming parliamentary and local elections, on 26 February 1995 — will pave the way towards national reconciliation in Tajikistan.

I have been asked to report to members of the Security Council that the leadership of Tajikistan is carrying out a consistent policy aimed at achieving national reconciliation and that it considers the Agreement on a Temporary Cease-fire and the Cessation of Other Hostile Acts on the Tajik-Afghan Border and within the Country, and the extension of the Agreement's term, as an initial success in this direction. It is fully determined to build on these achievements and to do all in its power to comply with the Agreement.

In reiterating my Government's dedication to the search for ways to put an end to the conflict through the inter-Tajik negotiations, I should like to emphasize that

this difficult quest to achieve complex solutions can be successful only with the parties' unswerving compliance with their commitments under the Agreement on a Temporary Cease-fire and the Cessation of Other Hostile Acts on the Tajik-Afghan Border and within the Country.

We are most seriously concerned by the continuing and — in a number of recent cases — increased attempts by recalcitrant factions of the opposition to inflame the atmosphere by acts of sabotage, the seizure of hostages and acts of terror against peaceful citizens, in particular against members of the intelligentsia. In the period since 20 October 1994 alone, opposition fighters have violated the provisions of the Agreement on a Temporary Cease-fire more than 50 times. There have been 34 attempts by armed groups to break through the Tajik-Afghan border. Border outposts, temporary installations and military details have been shelled on approximately 20 occasions. Here, we place importance on the Council's urgent appeal to the parties to comply strictly with the obligations they have assumed to implement fully the Agreement and to refrain from any steps that could aggravate the existing situation or hinder the process towards national reconciliation.

On behalf of the Government of Tajikistan, I should like to assure the Security Council that it will cooperate fully with the United Nations Mission of Observers and will be prepared quickly to conclude with the United Nations an agreement on the status of the Mission.

I should also like to inform members of the Security Council that on 2 December of this year, in accordance with Tajikistan's new Constitution, the President of the Council of Ministers issued a decree calling upon the population voluntarily to relinquish and destroy all firearms, ammunition and military equipment — a decree confirmed by the Council of the Republic.

In Tajikistan, a new Government is being put in place. Today, instead of the former 26 ministries and State committees, the Government consists of 18 ministries and three State committees. A 20 to 30 per cent reduction of administrative staffs is being carried out. We attach great importance to the Security Council's appeal to all States and others concerned to refrain from any actions that could complicate the peace process. We hope that that appeal will also be heeded by those who are sending foreign mercenaries to join the ranks of the irreconcilable opposition factions in the territory of Afghanistan, and we are hereby officially informing the Security Council of the participation of such elements in armed attacks.

The normalization of the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border and the stabilization of the situation in Tajikistan are interlinked and interdependent processes. There is hardly any need to demonstrate the fact that armed clashes on our border with Afghanistan are fraught with serious threats to peace and security throughout the Central Asian region. In the current circumstances, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan and the Republic of Uzbekistan have signed an agreement on the establishment on my country's territory of Collective Peace-keeping Forces. The Foreign Ministers of these five States officially informed the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, of this in their joint statements of 24 August and 30 September 1993.

The Tajik people rightfully perceive the Collective Peace-keeping Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) as a barrier to the penetration of our southern border by dangerous sparks of the fierce ongoing conflict in neighbouring Afghanistan and solely as a measure designed to protect against armed terrorism. We most ardently yearn for peace, calm and the well-being of the friendly people of Afghanistan. Our sole objective is the preservation of the territorial integrity and unity of multinational Tajikistan and the return of peace and harmony to our land.

The establishment of the Collective Peace-keeping Forces of the CIS on the basis of the Treaty on collective security between the countries of the Commonwealth is an organic element of the implementation of the principle of preventive diplomacy contained in the Secretary-General's report "Agenda for peace". We consider the formation of the Collective Peace-keeping Forces to be a regional agreement concluded in conformity with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter and with the purposes and principles of the Organization. The neutrality and impartiality of these forces is clearly reflected in their mandate, which is cited in the Secretary-General's report on Tajikistan.

We are counting on the fact that common sense and an understanding of Tajikistan's real situation will prevail over the lingering prejudices of the period of confrontation and that the Security Council will officially proclaim its support for the activities of the CIS Collective Peace-keeping Forces.

The Security Council's efforts to participate in the activities of the humanitarian and other organizations and

agencies of the United Nations system are helping greatly to strengthen the general trend towards a stabilization of the situation of the long-suffering Tajik land. We are satisfied that the Council's members are profoundly aware of the fact that success or failure in establishing peace and harmony in our small country will inevitably affect the other States of Central Asia, since it will either help to stabilize the situation in the region or lead to a further escalation and expansion of the conflict to neighbouring States. I am convinced that the latter option will not occur.

In conclusion, I wish to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Tajikistan, Ambassador Ramiro Píriz-Ballón, for his tireless efforts to promote political dialogue. I also thank the Governments of Iran, Pakistan, the Russian Federation, Uzbekistan and other States parties to the inter-Tajik dialogue as observers. We regard highly the efforts of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and the Organization of the Islamic Conference aimed at promoting a political settlement to the Tajik conflict and the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border.

The Government of Tajikistan is taking the measures necessary to ensure the security of the personnel of the United Nations Mission and to protect its property. The process of Tajikistan's accession to the Convention on the Safety of United Nations and Associated Personnel is now being concluded. We sincerely hope that the joint efforts of the friends of the Tajik people will greatly help to ensure substantive progress towards national reconciliation during the course of the forthcoming fourth round of inter-Tajik talks in Moscow.

The leadership of the Republic of Tajikistan once again reaffirms its intention to make all necessary efforts to pursue negotiations to achieve the national reconciliation of the country and proposes to the armed groups of the Tajik opposition and adjacent regions of Afghanistan that they refrain from irresponsible tests of force, comply with the inter-Tajik Agreement on a Temporary Cease-fire, and thereby create the conditions necessary for a consistent search for political solutions.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Tajikistan for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I shall first call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mr. Al-Khussaiby (Oman): I believe that my delegation has already conveyed to you, Sir, its congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month. I wish, however, to assure you of our fullest cooperation with you and your delegation.

Similarly, I wish to convey our appreciation to the representative of the United States of America, Ambassador Madeleine Albright, for a job well done last month.

On behalf of my delegation, allow me to extend my sincere thanks to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, for his vigorous efforts and endeavours to find peaceful solutions, through preventive diplomacy, to crises around the world, among which is the conflict in Tajikistan.

While commending the work of the Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Tajikistan for the diplomatic role he has been undertaking in this regard, my delegation further welcomes the facilitating role played by the Commonwealth of Independent States, as well as the positive contributions of the neighbouring countries, which have held successful rounds of talks, under the auspices of the United Nations, aimed at the reconciliation of the two conflicting parties in Tajikistan. The last round of these talks was held in the capital of Pakistan, Islamabad, from 20 October to 1 November 1994.

My delegation strongly agrees with the Secretary-General's opinion, expressed in the last paragraph of his report dated 30 November 1994, in which he states that:

> "The problems of Tajikistan must be solved through a political process, supported by interested Governments and, through the United Nations, by the international community as a whole. But the primary responsibility for composing their differences rests with the Tajik parties themselves. The international community should provide the assistance requested of it only if the Tajik parties acknowledge that responsibility and take effective steps to discharge it." (*S/1994/1363, para. 37*)

Welcoming the positive steps that the Tajik parties have taken in signing the Agreement on a Temporary Cease-fire and the Cessation of Other Hostile Acts, and its extension, my delegation considers that the Agreement could pave the way for the creation of suitable conditions for a peaceful settlement of the conflict in Tajikistan. In view of the political support of the United Nations and the neighbouring countries, and taking into consideration the fact that a resolution of the conflict is the full responsibility of the Tajik parties themselves, my country believes that there is no need for the United Nations to establish a peace-keeping operation in Tajikistan that would put an additional financial burden on this Organization.

My country's understanding of the draft resolution is that the Security Council, through the report to be submitted by the Secretary-General two months after its approval of the draft resolution, is in a position to check and monitor the performance, mandate and very existence of the operation. On the basis of this understanding, and with the aim of maintaining the prevailing consensus among the members of the Security Council and not upsetting the delicate consensus already reached, my delegation will vote in favour of the draft resolution.

The President *(interpretation from French)*: I thank the representative of Oman for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Marker (Pakistan): The Government of Pakistan has remained gravely concerned at the serious political crisis in Tajikistan resulting from the differences between the Government and the opposition. This unfortunate development has been a major setback for the young republic, with which Pakistan has strong ties not only of culture and religion, but also of close cooperation as member States of the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO).

Pakistan has remained actively involved in the international efforts to resolve the crisis peacefully and through negotiations. In this context, the Government of Pakistan has participated, as an observer, in all the rounds of inter-Tajik talks on national reconciliation. Pakistan continues to strongly support the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy, Ambassador Píriz Ballón, to facilitate the process of national reconciliation in Tajikistan.

Pakistan had the honour of hosting the third round of inter-Tajik talks, held in Islamabad from 20 October to 1 November 1994, under the auspices of the United Nations. At this round of talks Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran, Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, Uzbekistan, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC) participated as observers. In Islamabad the extension of the Tehran Agreement on a Temporary Cease-fire and the Cessation of Other Hostile Acts was negotiated, and the two parties agreed to extend this cease-fire Agreement by a further three months until 6 February 1995. Also at this meeting the two sides signed a Protocol on the establishment of a Joint Commission to monitor the implementation of the Agreement. This important Protocol contains provisions for the functioning of the Joint Commission, for which logistic and material support is to be provided by both the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Tajik opposition. The role of the United Nations in assisting the work of the Joint Commission is also defined in the Protocol. It is a matter of great satisfaction that during the Islamabad talks the Pakistan Government actively participated in the negotiations, which succeeded in breaking the serious deadlock between the two Tajik parties. This led to the successful conclusion of the Islamabad round of talks.

Pakistan will continue to participate actively, as an observer, in the next round of talks, which are expected to be held in Moscow in January 1995. It is the earnest hope of the Pakistan delegation that at this round both Tajik parties will once again make sincere efforts to achieve further progress in order to resolve their differences, thus paving the way for an overall settlement of the crisis. In this connection, my delegation feels that during this extremely delicate period it is imperative for all parties to exercise the utmost restraint. My delegation therefore cautions against any hasty or unilateral action, such as the precipitate holding of elections or any violation of the cease-fire Agreement. We urge the extension of the cease-fire Agreement, and the continuation of the dialogue.

The Pakistan delegation fully supports the draft resolution. With its adoption, all the important recommendations in the report (S/1994/1363) of the Secretary-General will have been acted upon, and the stage will be set to create the necessary conditions to achieve national reconciliation and a political solution to the crisis in Tajikistan. The establishment of a United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) is an important development which will contribute positively to the process by providing a neutral and objective mechanism.

While the implementation of the many steps outlined in the draft resolution will no doubt contribute to confidence-building measures between the parties, it remains necessary for Member States to contribute generously to the voluntary fund to be established by the Secretary-General, to support the implementation of the Agreement of 17 September 1994 on a Temporary Cease-fire — in particular, from delegations in support of the activities of the Joint Commission.

My delegation would like to emphasize the point that while the passage of this draft resolution is no doubt important in creating the necessary conditions for political reconciliation in Tajikistan, the ultimate responsibility for reaching a durable and lasting peace lies with the Government and people of Tajikistan.

Mr. Lavrov (Russian Federation) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Russian Federation attaches great importance to the adoption by the Security Council of the draft resolution establishing the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT). This is an important step that has long needed to be taken. We view the creation of this Mission as a definite shift in the position of the Security Council in terms of paying greater attention to the settlement of conflicts in the Member States of the Commonwealth of Independent States. We hope that this trend will be reinforced and developed further.

We are convinced that the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan will act as a stabilizing factor in the situation there, and will promote the successful implementation of the Agreement reached at the third round of inter-Tajik talks in Islamabad. At the same time, we believe that at a later stage in the settlement, we will have once again to return to the question of the size of the Mission.

One positive aspect of the draft resolution is that it steers the parties towards the need to seek energetically ways and means to find a comprehensive political settlement to the conflict. The Russian Federation is convinced that there is no alternative to peaceful political means to end the conflict in Tajikistan and the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border, on the basis of constructive dialogue between the parties to the conflict.

We welcome and actively support the efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Envoy, Ambassador Píriz-Ballón to promote national reconciliation in Tajikistan. Together with other States and regional organizations participating in the inter-Tajik talks as observers, and in close cooperation with the United Nations efforts, Russia is making its own contribution to advancing the peace process.

We attach great importance to the achievement of substantive progress at the forthcoming fourth round of inter-Tajik talks, to be held in Moscow. This will be a complex round at which there will be discussion of fundamental political and constitutional issues. We wish every success to Ambassador Píriz-Ballón in his preparations for this round.

At the same time, it is obvious that constructive political dialogue can take place only in conditions of strict and full compliance by the parties with all the commitments they have undertaken in accordance with the Cease-fire Agreement and the Cessation of Other Hostile Acts on the Tajik-Afghan border and within the country.

Here, we are seriously concerned by the fact that the intransigent segment of the opposition is continuing to carry out acts of provocation on the border, as well as sabotage and terrorist acts within the country.

We believe that the implementation of the commitments assumed by the parties must be unconditional. Compliance with the provisions of the Agreement that has been concluded should be considered not as a trump card to be exchanged for concessions on other questions, but as a prerequisite for conducting political dialogue. We hope that the appeals contained in the draft resolution will play a positive role in this regard.

The Russian delegation takes note that the draft resolution emphasizes the important significance of close ties between the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) and the Collective Peace-keeping Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States in Tajikistan, support for which is included in the mandate of the United Nations mission.

We reaffirm our readiness for close cooperation between the Collective Peace-keeping Forces of the CIS and UNMOT and our interest in such cooperation. The Collective Peace-keeping Forces of the CIS and the United Nations observer mission have separate mandates, but a single goal: to promote the stabilization of the situation and the process of national reconciliation in Tajikistan, a process which requires their interaction.

In conclusion, I should like to appeal to the United Nations Secretariat to implement as quickly as possible the decision of the Council which, I hope, will be adopted unanimously, and to deploy the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan in accordance with the plan set out by the Secretary-General in his report.

We are also counting on the fact that after the adoption of this draft resolution a voluntary fund will be effectively established in support of the implementation of the Agreement of 17 September and that the Member States of the United Nations will actively respond to the appeal contained in the draft resolution to make voluntary contributions to this fund.

Mr. Kovanda (Czech Republic): Mr. President, as this is the first time my delegation has spoken in the Council this month, allow me to congratulate you on your assumption of the office of the presidency of the Council. Let me also thank and congratulate Ambassador Albright for the remarkable skills she and her entire delegation displayed last month.

By authorizing a peace-keeping operation in Tajikistan, the Security Council is about to give United Nations a far more active role in yet another region of the former Soviet Union. And with the exception of the small operation of very limited duration in Chad's Aouzou Strip, this is the only operation that the Security Council has authorized this year.

Meanwhile, several other operations are being phased out, based on decisions of the Council. We are closing down the United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) which, despite its success in overcoming the famine and starvation of millions of people, has in essence turned out to be a failure as far as the political process is concerned. We are also closing down the United Nations Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) which, precisely in terms of the political process, has been remarkably successful. In light of the lessons drawn from these two operations, we contemplate the prospects of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT).

All three of these operations represent a relatively new challenge to the United Nations, for we are dealing with critical preconditions for the peaceful and democratic domestic development of the countries in question. The success of these operations is measured by the degree to which national reconciliation is attained.

In this context, my delegation has been consistently concerned about the fragility of the arrangements so far reached by the belligerent parties in Tajikistan. Fundamental institutional issues, including the consolidation of the country's very political make-up, have not yet been addressed by the parties. The next round of political talks, originally scheduled to take place in Moscow in early December, has been postponed for at least a month. The cease-fire that the parties have been grudgingly observing has been conditioned by the presence of United Nations observers, turning a principle on its head; for we would generally predicate the dispatch of observers, to whatever location, on the existence of an effective cease-fire. And it took the parties months beyond their original deadline to accomplish an exchange of prisoners and detainees that they themselves had agreed to. These are not encouraging signs.

Even in this light, though, we believe that the Security Council has absorbed certain lessons. To nail down certain basic prerequisites for a United Nations operation to be successful, the Council has adequately addressed the following important elements in the draft resolution before us.

First, a realistic and practical mandate, which follows the proposals of the Secretary-General, is reflected in the text of the draft. Secondly, the time framework for UNMOT has been clarified. Furthermore, there is a clear link between our commitment — that is, of international assistance — and the political process in Tajikistan — that is, of national reconciliation. We think that this is an appropriate formulation of the question, since the whole process is still based on a Cease-fire Agreement which even describes itself as provisional or "temporary". Thirdly, we are sending an important message to both parties — namely, that the responsibility for adhering to the cease-fire rests with the Tajik parties themselves. What we are undertaking is only to assist the Joint Commission, the instrument for implementing it. An effective cease-fire in turn should help create an atmosphere in which political talks can lead to national reconciliation. Fourthly, our draft provides for regular reviews by the Security Council of the overall political and military situation in Tajikistan and of UNMOT's performance. Fifthly — and finally — it also includes a call to parties to ensure the safety and freedom of movement of United Nations personnel. We expect the Government of Tajikistan expeditiously to conclude an agreement on the status of UNMOT with the United Nations. But at any rate, any infringement of the security or freedom of movement of our observers would surely

be considered in a very serious light when UNMOT's future next comes up for discussion.

There is one more reason why my delegation is paying special attention to Tajikistan. The draft resolution sets a clear framework for the activities of other forces in Tajikistan and for their close liaison with UNMOT. This framework reflects a principle which we consider vital for the performance of these other forces — which are in the country at the invitation of only one of the parties: the principle of neutrality and impartiality which, for that matter, is embodied in their mandate.

We hope that periodically more information on the relationship of the United Nations mission with these other forces will be available. There is a clear need for transparency in the activities of the Collective Peace-Keeping Forces of the CIS as well as of the non-Tajik border forces in Tajikistan. My Government believes that monitoring their neutrality and impartiality should be a part of UNMOT's job. In fact, this is one aspect of the situation which the draft resolution does not in our opinion reflect as fully as it might have.

On other matters, though, informal consultations have yielded a text that well balances the different concerns of Security Council members, and my delegation will vote for its adoption. More than that, discussions are already under way about the participation of Czech military observers in UNMOT.

In closing, let me pay tribute to the several countries of the region and to the several organizations, including the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), that have acted as midwives and godfathers to the progress attained so far, as well as to the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General's Special Envoy, whose advice and counsel my delegation has invariably found useful.

The President (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of the Czech Republic for the kind words he addressed to me.

I now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/1994/1415.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Brazil, China, Czech Republic, Djibouti, France, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Rwanda, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President *(interpretation from French):* There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 968 (1994).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Mr. Mérimée (France) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation welcomes the decision just adopted by our Council to establish, for a six-month period, a United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan to assist the Joint Commission to monitor the implementation of the Agreement of 17 September 1994.

In the presidential statement of 8 November 1994 (S/PRST/1994/65) the Security Council welcomed the extension until 6 February 1995 of the Agreement on a Temporary Cease-fire and the Cessation of Other Hostile Acts — the extension agreed upon in Islamabad between the Tajik parties, and it called on the parties to pursue the goal of an overall political settlement. The agreement reached in Islamabad was a positive step, deserving of support, and the resolution just adopted concretely reflects our determination to help the parties implement it.

The effective maintenance of the cessation of hostilities is essential to the continuation of the process that should lead Tajikistan to national reconciliation, to the holding of free and fair elections and to the establishment of democracy. We feel that no effort should be spared in promoting the speedy achievement of a political agreement within the framework of negotiations under United Nations auspices, with the assistance of several States in the region. Indeed, the resolution just adopted makes this progress a precondition for continued United Nations assistance to Tajikistan.

There is no intention whatever to take the place of the parties themselves, for they have primary responsibility for the political settlement of their disputes. However, the signal sent today by our Council should encourage them to continue along the path of negotiation that they have chosen. In this respect, my delegation would recall the paramount importance of holding at an early date the fourth round of inter-Tajik talks, scheduled to take place in Moscow. We earnestly hope that this meeting will yield substantive results.

Finally, my delegation would like to pay tribute to the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Píriz-Ballón, whose perseverance is greatly appreciated.

Sir David Hannay (United Kingdom): My delegation warmly welcomes the resolution which this Council has just adopted. It represents a recognition, on the part of the Council, not only of the suffering caused by the conflict in Tajikistan, but of the progress made so far in the process of national reconciliation. In that context, I should like to pay tribute to the role of the Russian Federation, the other States observers at the inter-Tajik talks, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, as well as the Special Envoy of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Píriz-Ballón, for helping make possible the progress achieved so far.

Much more, however, needs to be done. I appeal today to the parties to show the political will necessary to carry this work forward. As the resolution which we have just adopted recognizes, the international community can assist and facilitate the process of national reconciliation in Tajikistan, but it is the parties themselves who bear the primary responsibility for resolving their differences. In particular, we hope for substantive progress at the fourth round of inter-Tajik talks, planned to take place in Moscow.

It is essential that the Secretary-General is able to report, by 6 February, not only that the cease-fire has been extended but also that progress is continuing with national reconciliation and the promotion of democracy. A new United Nations Mission of this sort needs to be linked to a clear political process resulting in a negotiated settlement and a representative and sustainable national government. I should like to emphasize, in this context, the importance that my delegation attaches to the holding of free and fair elections, in which the Tajik opposition must be able to participate fully. I hope that the Government of Tajikistan will draw upon the expertise and advice of the CSCE Mission in Dushanbe, and of the United Nations, in preparing for those elections.

Tajikistan's emergence as a sovereign and independent State has been cruelly undermined by civil strife and the human misery that has ensued from it. The establishment of a United Nations Mission of Observers is a small but significant helping hand along the path of national reconciliation and economic regeneration. Perhaps the best thing we can wish for the people of Tajikistan is that the United Nations will soon be able to turn its attention in that country from monitoring a cease-fire to post-conflict economic reconstruction.

Mr. Inderfurth (United States of America): Today we have decided to send a team of 40 United Nations military observers to Tajikistan to assist the parties in maintaining a cease-fire in a civil war that has claimed too many victims. With this decision, the Security Council and the international community have shown their willingness to involve themselves in the resolution of this conflict. This represents a major step that should not be judged by the size of the Mission. Already, the 17 United Nations military observers in place have played an important role in resolving allegations of cease-fire violations and working with the Joint Commission for the Implementation of the Agreement of 17 September 1994. Increasing their number to 40 will allow this work to take place in many more politically sensitive locations.

I would emphasize, however, that the Council's mandate for this observer Mission appropriately states that the parties in Tajikistan themselves bear the primary responsibility for resolving their differences. The resolution underlines this point by clearly linking the observer Mission's future to the process of national reconciliation. The Mission is being dispatched to assist the parties to the conflict, working in coordination with other interested parties as well as with forces already on the ground.

The parties, with the able assistance of the Secretary- General's Special Envoy, Ambassador Píriz-Ballón, have shown that they can make progress toward reconciliation. The initial cease-fire has been extended until 6 February 1995. The parties should act quickly to extend the cease-fire well beyond that date; indeed, the cease-fire must be extended and adhered to if the Mission is to remain beyond that date. The parties have also engaged in political discussions and have carried out an exchange of prisoners. They should resume their discussions in earnest, with the intention of taking further meaningful steps toward peace and participating in additional exchanges of prisoners and other confidence-building measures.

The parliamentary elections present a special opportunity to advance national reconciliation, but only if their timing and conduct are such that a broad range of parties is allowed to participate and the voting process is free and fair. We hope that the elections will be a central topic of discussions at the next round of peace talks in Moscow.

The observer Mission is being sent to Tajikistan to help assure the parties that if they take these steps they will have the assistance and the support of the United Nations. At the same time, they should understand that this coin of the international community's willingness to help has a reverse side: failure to engage genuinely in the process of reconciliation will jeopardize this support. The Council will be following developments in Tajikistan with attention and hopeful confidence.

Mr. Yañez-Barnuevo (Spain) *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Security Council has just unanimously adopted resolution 968 (1994) by which it decided to establish a new United Nations peace-keeping mission which, together with the Joint Commission established by the parties, will assist in consolidating the agreed cease-fire in Tajikistan, which came into effect on 20 October 1994 and which is an integral part of the political process leading to the solution of the conflict.

I wish to stress, first of all, my delegation's admiration of the mediation efforts of the Secretary-General and, in particular, of his Special Envoy, Ambassador Píriz-Ballón, without whose patience and tireless efforts such favourable progress would not have been possible in the process which the Security Council is now helping to strengthen.

We should also mention the effective cooperation, in these efforts, of Afghanistan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Pakistan, the Russian Federation and Uzbekistan and the representatives of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

With the establishment of a United Nations Observer Mission in Tajikistan (UNMOT) and its full deployment on the basis of the 15 military observers who have already been working there since October and to whom will now be added new personnel, it will be more difficult for hostilities between the parties to resume. We hope that a long period of calm there will make it possible to implement new confidence-building measures and also to further the process of national reconciliation. This should lead to the holding of free and democratic elections with the broadest possible participation, giving the country a legitimate and broad-based government.

My delegation wishes, however, to point out that the presence of the United Nations Observer Mission is not unconditional or of indefinite duration. Paragraph 3 of resolution 968 (1994) clearly establishes the need for the cease-fire agreement to be extended and for the parties to have clearly demonstrated that they have abandoned the course of violence.

The Council must also have tangible proof, in the form of the report to be submitted by the Secretary-General, that the parties have indeed moved towards national reconciliation and the promotion of democracy. Therefore, the next round of negotiations, to be held in Moscow, must record significant progress in the political process, for that is essential to the solution of the conflict.

We should also emphasize the need for close contact and cooperation in the field between the United Nations Observer Mission and the Collective Peace-keeping Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States, as well as with the forces responsible for monitoring the border with Afghanistan.

Finally, my delegation believes that the CSCE Mission established in Tajikistan can make a positive contribution to the peace process. It will therefore be necessary for UNMOT and the CSCE Mission in Dushanbé to work together, from their different standpoints and in terms of their different mandates, and thus contribute to an atmosphere conducive to national reconciliation in Tajikistan. This, in turn, should lead to greater stability in the region.

Mr. Cárdenas (Argentina) *(interpretation from Spanish):* The Security Council has today reached a decision on the question of Tajikistan, on the basis of a comprehensive report by the Secretary-General.

I should like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation to Ambassador Píriz-Ballón of Uruguay for the splendid way in which he carried out his mission.

We would also like to express Argentina's appreciation to the Governments and regional organizations which have been working with and concretely supporting the peace process, in particular the Russian Federation, the Islamic Republic of Iran and Pakistan, all of which hosted the three important rounds of negotiations that have already taken place.

During the last two rounds of negotiations, held in Tehran and Islamabad, favourable results were produced in regard to the crisis in Tajikistan, which also affect Afghanistan. The temporary cease-fire and its subsequent extension, the exchange of prisoners between the parties,

the establishment of a joint commission, and an agreement to carry out a new round of negotiations in Moscow to take up questions such as that of arrangements for holding free democratic elections in the Tajik parliament all show the will of the parties to cooperate in the search for a solution.

Nevertheless, there are still some disturbing signs. Acts of violence continue in Tajikistan, which makes the situation somewhat volatile both in the interior of the country and along the border with Afghanistan. For these reasons, we agree with the Secretary-General's proposal for the speedy establishment of a United Nations Observer Mission in Tajikistan.

We believe that conditions already exist that justify another peace-keeping operation, namely, consent of the parties, an effective cease-fire, a clear and definite mandate in terms of time, and a financial estimate that seems to us to be realistic and moderate.

We would say that the resolution we have just adopted enjoys the cooperation of the Observer Mission and the Collective Peace-keeping Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the border forces from Russia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. For my delegation all of this is a matter of priority.

Through this resolution, the Security Council is setting up its second peace-keeping operation this year, the first — we recall — being the one relating to the Aouzou Strip force in Chad. This significant event underscores the importance that the international community attributes to the situation in Tajikistan and along the border with Afghanistan.

Nevertheless, it is important to point out, as the Secretary-General does in his report and as has been pointed out by the Security Council, it is the parties themselves — the Tajik parties — who must fully assume their responsibilities and adopt all necessary measures to strengthen the peace process.

The President (*interpretation from French*): There are no other names on the list of speakers.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 4.25 p.m.